Colombia SC1
Tierradentro

C /104 cont./
632 includes 15 villages with Belalcázar as the administrative seat.
[103] Belalcázar, which takes its name from the conquistador Sebastian de Belalcazar, but not altogether correctly, since the latter was unable to conquer the Tierradentro area, is at the same time the
P 162 seat of the Apostolic Prefect for Tierradentro. According to the
C 162 632 census of 1938, the population of Tierradentro, consisting of mixed-colored colonists and racially pure Indios, contains 17,578 inhabitants, distributed over Belalcázar with 13,861 and Inzá with 3,717 inhabitants. The more recent count of 1951, with a total of 25,495 inhabitants, showed a considerably larger figure, of which 15,388 fall to the municipio of Balalcazar and 10,103 to
C [104] the municipio of Inzá. A comparison of the two counts of 1938 and 1951 shows /105/ a notable error in the count in the municipio of Inzá for the year 1938 (figures cited in Bernal Villa [I], p. 285).

P 641 [162] [851] [191] Of this number about 80 per cent are natives who today are largely civilized, that is, they are baptized and speak some Spanish. Politically they, too, are basically full citizens of the country; they may vote and be drafted into military service, but
P 641 423 641 423 691 648 do not pay any taxes. In one respect, however, fortunately for them, they are regarded as "minors" before the law; in their totality they own all the landed property of Tierradentro, but the individual man is not in a position to sell his land. This is supposed to keep the Paez from losing their settlement area to the whites. In practice this law is not always strictly observed, for otherwise neither the colonists nor the large landowners, who are slowly but surely pushing their pasture and agricultural lands into the territory of the natives, could be in Tierradentro. The latter cannot in fact defend themselves against this, for, due to lack of money, no one among them is in a position to complain in court. If a complaint is nevertheless made, the Indios always lose, as, for example, in Itaibe, in the southeastern part of Tierradentro, where the Spaniards began to colonize as early as 1636 and where for many years lawsuits were carried on by the Indios in vain. Moreover, no judge is able to undertake anything against a rich landowner or against the missions likewise owning land.

/108 cont./

115 156 554 [598] Victoriano likes to parade his outward standing of higher culture openly. He possesses soap, a toothbrush, a small brush for grooming his eyebrows, and perfume. He uses all these toilet articles very frequently. He is not afraid of the jealousy of his Calderun fellow-villagers; he always carries his machete /see the glossary, p. 249/ with him in order to defend himself. He wants to marry a "white" woman outside of Calderas (cf. also "The Course of a Day" /see p. 133 /).

124 286 386 /109/ In the work an attempt was made as a matter of principle to observe all the activities of the Paez ourselves; when this was not feasible, two different informants were questioned if possible. Two examples will show, however, that errors can creep in, even with the most careful work: I had the dyeing process for the black-dyed fabrics explained to me by the interpreter Marcos, according to whom they are first boiled with certain leaves, and then all of this is placed in black humus earth for two days. When the same question was put to Victoriano, he stated that the black coloring occurs if the fabric is placed in black humus earth for two days. At my suggestion that the fabric first had to be boiled with leaves, he delightedly agreed with me. When called to account as to why he had not told me that, he replied: "Well, you did not ask me about that; you only wanted to know how the material becomes black!"

724 ●423 One cannot speak sufficiently often and again and again in different ways about the same subject, for to the Paez the necessity or the meaning of explanations for things self-evident to them is usually incomprehensible. Thus in the case described there was as little ill-intent or even mere carelessness as in the following case: In roaming over boundary lines, I inquired as to which fields were private property and which were community property. We came to the general conclusion that the lowlands were community property and the mountain slopes the private property of the man or family who had first cleared the land. I asked Victoriano several times as to whether there were any pieces of land that at present had no owner. He stated emphatically that all the land had been disposed of and there was no longer any ownerless land.

/109 cont./

124 One day, at the sight of a freshly cleared field on the
• 423 highest mountain slopes, I asked a Paez working there to whom this land belonged and whether the person concerned had always owned it. He answered that he himself was the owner and that previously the parcel had been ownerless. He said that he had cleared it for himself and only recently built his house here in order to live here. In answer to my question as to whether there was any more ownerless land, he explained to me that the highest and inaccessible mountain peaks which are still covered with big trees and have never been cleared do not belong to anyone and that any Paez could clear a piece on them, which would then become his property. Later I called Victoriano to task, saying that actually there still was ownerless land. "Yes," he then answered me, "of course there is still ownerless land, but it is so poor that it has no value."

157 Far from their village, on the way to market, and
[123] generally in /110/ places away from home, the Paez, if they
[522] are alone or in the minority, are timid and reserved. If they are together in large numbers, however, or, even better, in their own house, they are usually quite bold and impudent and
157 loudly made their jokes at our expense. Indeed, jocularity is a
521 prominent characteristic of the Paez. No talk, no conversation,
522 be it ever so unimportant, is begun without joking -- often of
[834] an erotic nature. The importance of conducting such a light, idle conversation is shown by the fact that serious-minded girls are scarcely ever married.

123 They made fun of my wife in particular, for they found
522 it altogether ugly that she wore long pants. Numerous jokes
157 were made about this, which we, of course, did not understand, and for this reason we, in turn, had to take the initiative by making a joke which was then acknowledged gratefully and usually
609 with quick-wittedness. On the whole, respect toward strangers
522 inside their dwelling is unknown to them. In larger groups they
159 make their asides even in a strange environment, accompanied by much laughter. Since one does not understand them, one
[197] easily gets the impression that they are silly. In their own houses they also mimic the visiting mission priest by repeating

/113 cont./

361 but rather we are /114/ concerned, almost without exception, with individual farms scattered on the slopes of the mountains, where the families live in the midst of their cultivated fields [157] (cf. Ills. 156 and 157 /see p. 269 and 270/). The Paez is by no means an unsociable person and likes to take part in the festivals, but he does not like to live closely confined in a village and to have his neighbors always around him; rather, he prefers to live quite far away from the next house, surrounded by his animals, in order to be able to go about his daily work in the fields undisturbed with his family.

423 609 Every Paez has a strong tie to "his soil," and the fear that he could be robbed of his soil and land dictates his unfriendly and forbidding attitude toward the stranger. Besides, for centuries their experiences with the whites have been too unfortunate for the Paez to be able to understand that a stranger might come for entirely unselfish reasons, merely in order to become acquainted with them and their country.

423 [342] [428] The Paez builds his house, as the family's focus and social center, only upon his own land, which he inherited from his fathers and which, through all subsequent generations, belongs to the family that first cultivated it. There is land in sufficient quantity in every family; in case of need anyone can also find ownerless, uncleared land on the highest sites of the mountain ranges.

Whereas the slopes of the mountains are private property after the initial clearing, the valley floor with the community house and the festival plaza is community land. The houses are connected with one another, as well as with the village plaza, by means of footpaths which are always very narrow because the Paez, even in larger numbers, never walk side by side, but always one behind the other. Originally even the connecting trails between the individual villages, the trails that had to be taken to the weekly markets in Belalcázar or Inzá, were no wider. In more recent times, however, visits on the part of secular and religious authorities made it necessary to widen the trails for riders.

31 Since there are no compact settlements among the Paez, there is also no geographical variations of the village. The church

1: Nachtigall--145 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/209 cont./

4. Law

671 Although the legal life of the Paez cannot be compared to a well-developed jurisprudence, on account of its being interwoven with all manifestations of life, they nevertheless have fixed regulations adapted to their vital needs, /210/ the preservation of which is guaranteed by the entire community. To these legal regulations belong the political and family organization already described, as well as the customs in the course of life and of daily living. In the following the regulations governing property and inheritance and the views of the Paez concerning punishable acts and punishments are to be described.

● 423 In Calderas there is community land and private land. The former consists of the river lowlands with the territory of the church, school, community house, and festival houses, whereas the mountain slopes are the private property of those families who cleared them for the first time. Basically, everyone may have an interest in the community land, which consists essentially of pasture land. Here the families can pasture their animals, build themselves festival houses, and stake off a piece of land for [178] themselves anywhere they like and build dwellings. The latter was not customary formerly when a person built his own house only on his own land. Today there are already three families, those of Cerbeleón Guagáz, of Clemente Lis, and of Agustín Muse, who live on community land near the church and the school. They built their houses there and staked off a piece of land on which they cultivate vegetables and some sugar cane. There is no need to ask anyone for permission to do this. The situation is different in the 423 case of private property on the mountain slopes. True, no one 427 builds his house on a piece of land that does not belong to him; yet it may happen that one's own land is very far away, and then a person will ask the owner of a parcel of land nearby for permission ("licencia"; Spanish "authorized permission") to plant a field for a harvest. This is not often the case, for generally there is enough land in each family. A few families, however, have

/210 cont./

423 considerably larger parcels of land than others, for example, the
427 Guagáz family, who, according to my information, own almost half of all private land. Permission for the use of land is granted only for crops with a short ripening period, namely, wheat, maize, beans, and cabbage, but not sugar cane, coca, or bananas, which need several years to mature, in other words, can be used for years. As rent the owner receives a small portion of the harvest, which is left on the stalk and which he must harvest himself.

423 As a matter of principle, land cannot be bought, we were
[428] told repeatedly, for every man must leave his land to his sons. Even if a man has no sons, he may not sell his land, but must hand it over to his brothers. This was the information always
423 given in answer to my direct questions on the subject. /211/ In
437 practice, however, it is quite possible to sell land, and this is not infrequently done, but no one realizes that a land sale actually takes place when a man clears a piece of land for himself, plants it, and exchanges the entire harvest, including the land, for a
[115] head of cattle, a horse, etc. This is what Victoriano did, for example, in order to acquire a horse. He cleared and planted a piece of his father's land, about 2,500 square meters, to sugar cane, and when this was mature, he exchanged the harvest, including the land, for a mare. Nobody wanted to admit that this violated the principle of not selling land.

423 The land belongs to the father of the family, who, as a rule,
241 tills it with his grown sons. If the sons have their own houses,
59 they generally go on working with their father, since no one likes to work alone. At the harvest, the respective wives fetch the food
423 required for their families from the common field. If father and
427 son do not live in amity, the son must plant and harvest his own
59 3 field, for which he is then obliged to accept the help of friends.
241
[476] It is considerably more expensive to entertain them than family help, for in the latter case there need not be any chicha for entertainment. Even in this instance, however, the son must ask his father and owner of the family land for permission to cultivate the land. This is not denied, however. After the harvest, this piece of land, since it will lie fallow now for about ten years, goes back

/211 cont./

423 to the father, and the next year the son must ask his father anew
427 for permission to use another piece of land.

593
241 Besides the land, the father of the family also owns the
422 dwelling, the menstruation house, all the animals -- including
423 chickens and guinea pigs -- all agricultural implements, and the sugar mill. Property marks on the houses, fields, and implements are not required, for everyone knows to whom they belong.

428 Upon the death of the father of the family, the youngest son inherits his house and the greater part of the livestock. If, for example, there is only one cow, he gets it. Similarly, he gets all the land under cultivation at the time. The uncultivated land is divided equally among all the sons. The widow, [768] like the daughters, inherits nothing. The former then continues to live in her old house in the family of the youngest son. The fact that the latter receives so much more than the older ones in the distribution of the inheritance is explained by the fact that the older ones have worked for more years and therefore have had more time and opportunity to acquire property of their own. [429] Favoring the youngest thus represents a certain equalization. If the father dies /212/ young and leaves only a small son, his mother administers his property for him until he is about 15 years [768] old. He need not marry then, however. If there are several younger sons, they, of course, also go on living together in the house of the father.

Deviant inheritance plans of the deceased, for example, letting an older favorite son have more or leaving his house or implements, not to his youngest son, but to his brother, are not possible. Even if a father had ten daughters and only one son and none of the daughters would marry, he could not leave them anything. In such a case, the only son would have to provide for all his sisters, for women cannot live alone in a house and they would not be in a position to cultivate the land alone. If a man has no sons, but only daughters, his sons-in-law generally help him cultivate the fields. Yet he cannot bequeath them anything. His landed property and equipment go to that one of his brothers who takes care of the burial, that is to say, buys the grave clothes for the deceased and provides chicha and food for the mourning

1: Nachtigall--297 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/CXI cont./

Plate XXI

/According to the plate itself, the caption given here for Ill. 8 belongs with Ill. 9, and vice versa./

Ill. 8. The artificially leveled-off hill of Segovia with the archeological site. The entrance gate is at the left. On the right is the elevated portion with the protective roofs of the Seven-Niche-Grave-chambers Nos. 35-38. In the background, the Filo de El Aguacate. From its highest point the grave chambers extend to the small elevation on the right edge of the picture.

Ill. 9. The San Andrés Valley. In the foreground, the grave chambers arranged on two levels at the archeological site of Alto de San Andrés. Grave chambers 1 and 6 are provided with rectangular protective roofs. The five large statues of El Tablon are faintly visible on the almost circular area behind the village church.

/Ills. 10-145 on Plates XXII-LXXVI, and listed on pp. CXI-CXX, are omitted in the translation./

/CXX/

Plate LXXVII

Ill. 146. The valley of the Kokiyó with the town of Calderas. The bare surface is the community land, the overgrown slopes are private property.

Ill. 147. Calderas with the church and the festival houses.

Plate LXXVIII

Ills. 148 and 149. Young women.

Plate LXXIX

Ills. 150 and 151. Young men.

Plate LXXX

Ill. 152. Mother with child. The clothes are held together with thorns. The carrying band of the coca pouch hangs over the shoulder.

583 /288 cont./ in the church, live together for a period of indeterminate duration, explaining that /289/ the man does not have enough money at hand to marry as soon as he asks the woman, and it is necessary to work in order to obtain it.

771 177 [796] Religion.--The religion of the Paez is formally Catholicism, but many of their traditions are hidden in it. The principal fiestas of the natives are religious ones, which acquire true strokes of splendor. The Catholic priest is called upon for the ceremonies of baptism, marriage, and cases of death.

Chapter II

631 131 133 Calderas.--Incrusted in the very heart of Tierradentro is the Parcialidad of Calderas, bounded on the north by a high ridge that separates it from Chinas and Avirama; on the east, La Muralla, the very model of a fault, separates it from Avirama, just as a ridge separates it from Togoima; to the south, deep gorges and high peaks separate it from San Andrés and Togoima; to the west, the Quebrada Guacharaca divides it from the Parcialidad of Lame.

133 631 [423] It is crossed from west to east by the Quebrada Kukiyú, actually a river in terms of the volume and violence of its waters, whose bed is deep, enclosed, and inaccessible. Its left bank is somewhat softened by a beautiful plateau of about 20 hectares, with fertile lands, abundant waters, and on which the pueblo rises; it belongs to the community, whereas the other lands are private property guaranteed by the fact that the owner either personally cleared the montaña or inherited it from his ancestors who cleared the forest. The right bank is steep, harsh, rugged. Numerous clearings are to be seen on these sloping lands, indicating the increase in population that compels them to cultivate lands of low fertility and great danger for the laborer.

[161] [311]

/182 cont./

423 461 [173] [628] [648] The work on the land is a daily exercise in co-operation. Ownership by an Indian is an unquestionable right, and its defense a categorical imperative. Lliban and Juan Chiracol fought the Pijao for the ownership of the land and to defend an inalienable right. Likewise, because the whites covet their land, they do not like to have them around /183/ and avoid receiving them under some pretext or other. Their security and [735] their happiness lie in the ownership of land. Poverty as they understand it, a shortage of food and livestock, is due solely to the laziness of those who suffer it.

857 868 Children grow up in continuous communion with the activities of their parents. While the girl helps her mother in household tasks and goes out with her to bring firewood from their respective clearings, the boys with their machete on their shoulder and their pouches of coca and mambe /lime/, exactly like their fathers, clean the clearings, build fences, weed their plantings, and when the maize ripens and the wheat grows tall, they spend the day defending them against the attacks of parrots, guaras, borugos, squirrels, and coatis. At an early age they are already doing the same tasks, but with the hope of building a house, marrying, raising children, and owning livestock, large quantities of coca, and sugar cane for their 342 chicha. In a way, the house is a necessary supplement to their pieces of land; furthermore, many are for the period of the clearings. The selection of a site for the house does not take into account either the beauty of the landscape or the levelness of the terrain, but rather the inaccessibility of both. Only when the house is to last for more than one generation will they attend to certain requisites: solidity, construction or privately owned land, and the selection of an adequate site by the medicine man (té éu). One fine day the owner selects a site: "This is a good place to build a house and to live," he [759] says. Then he takes there the medicine man, who during the [787] night "thinks about" whether the site is suitable or unsuitable; he chews coca and remedies, takes mouthfuls of aguardiente

/263 cont./

182 754 The people perceive only the effects. Only the expectant attitude announces to us its presence. The latent fears tell us of its vigor. The members of the cabildo, the capitán, the té eu, the working men, the parturient women have a strong fear of sorcery.

When the pest spreads through the community, when the elders die and their experience and advice are lost, thoughts [761] turn inevitably to the power of the sorcerers. Most deaths are brought about by sorcerers, the informants say.

754 182 177 Sorcery is a powerful barrier against the introduction of the customs of a capitalist economy and also against the intrusion of the whites in their parcialidades. It is strange that sorcery should exist in the less acculturated parcialidades, while in San Andrés it has practically disappeared. It is said to have been vigorous until 1926, the year when the Municipal Council of Inzá established in the parcialidad a settlement area in which the whites settled. With this measure living together was inescapable and they chose to accept them. Nevertheless, during the drinking bouts of the old people, the tremendous resentment that has become natural to them still crops out.

182 754 ● 423 [554] [152] Furthermore, it makes its influences felt in the distribution of land. Each family has lands from which it lives. With the increase in population the problem of their unequal distribution has become prominent. Those who have the most land are the targets of envy and sorcery; they are more prone to magical attacks aimed at taking away their land.

754 182 [184] [177] [675] [762] Intrasocial tensions appear to be brought into equilibrium by means of this institution. The fear of reprisals checks aggression. Revenge is too prejudicial, since it can be manifested not only against individuals, but also against animals and plantings. It is perfectly true to say that while in Calderas acts of bloodshed are rare and suicide is unknown, in San Andres, a parcialidad which is largely acculturated, the homicides, murders, and cases of arson are hair-raising.

/293 cont./

221 on the fincas of the "whites" (1). The social life and the re-
[166]
[464]
[192]
[199]
[128]

1. Generic term with which the natives designate all those who observe the norms of western culture, without any distinction as to race. For convenience we have adopted this usage, putting the term in quotation marks.

ligious fiestas are frequent during this period. The work is done /294/ with devotion and perseverance. It is not done in haste, but there is no resting either.

● 423 Every Páez family has its lands. This is its ambition. The
[183] primary source of its security. Every crag has an owner whose title has been won by the sweat of his brow. Every crag harbors a rancho that shelters a family. Every inch of land is passionately
[578] defended by the native. The disputes stirred up by this fact are not few. In like manner the cabildos are never so zealous as in the defense of the lands of the parcialidad /a territorial division/.
[648] The areas of settlement /areas of colonization by whites/ are spearheads in the very heart of the community. They were established against the full opposition of the natives. On the other hand, the defense of the land and the prevention of contamination by foreign peoples are postulates of the doctrine. The distribution of the houses suggests in advance the profusion of paths and private property.

When they win the scarce land, the distances and difficul-
[464] ties that loom are not important. They are good colonizers, and it is rare that persons who lack land hire themselves out as perma-
[181] nent peons or become tenant farmers on the great haciendas. They prefer independence above all.

311 To study the economy of the Páez, certain factors of a
133 geographico-physical and cultural nature cannot be overlooked. They are:

1. Thermic levels. The lands now occupied by the Páez of Tierradentro correspond to the thermic levels of cold and temperate. The contour line corresponding to 2,000 meters

/298 cont./

241 in some cases, fruit trees, and after this, wheat. In San Andrés,
134 especially in the vegas, maize, plantains, frijoles, arracacha, manioc, sugar cane, and coffee are planted. Thus, there is not proper utilization of the soil or protection of it, aside from the several years of rest. They are not familiar with fertilizers, the rotation of crops, or irrigation systems.

241 It is interesting to note that the families of San Andrés,
● 423 Calderas, Lame, and Mosoco generally have lands in the low places along the rivers and streams and in the high places where arboreal vegetation abounds, which they call the "montaña." In this way, they can cultivate cold and temperate zone plants (Calderas, San Andrés, Lame) or take advantage of the annual seasonal cycle in the high parts of the Cordillera (Mosoco).

244 A principal dwelling is erected on one of the fincas, while
342 on the others ranchos where the families live during the months of harvest are built. It is at the principal dwelling where the garden is made with plantains, sugar cane, onions, coriander, coca, cabbage (San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Calderas, Togoima), or with cabbage, garlic, onions, yuca de pipchao /yams/, peaches, and apples (Lame, Mosoco, Vitoncó). Peppers are cultivated in the gardens. This principal dwelling forms what in our culture is called hogar /hearth, home/. It is here that the fire is always maintained, that the ears of maize, bundles of wheat, bags of frijoles, tools, troughs, cooking utensils, and sugar mills are kept, where the chickens, guinea pigs, pigs, and turkeys live.

249 Industrial crops practically do not exist. There are no
[248] tobacco or cotton plantations. Sugar-cane plantings are not
[273] extensive among the natives. They are used solely for pro-
[778] ducing guarapo, which has almost completely replaced the maize chicha. Only the whites and a few mestizos have extensive sugar-cane fields for producing panela.

248 Figue thrives in Tierradentro. But it is in Vitoncó and Lame that there are numerous plantings of cabuya of very good quality in terms of the size and quantity of the fiber, planted on the boundaries of the properties. This wealth is not utilized as much as it should be. The natives merely make pouches and lassos for internal consumption.

/334 cont./

312 water abounds during the rainy season. Then the stream beds, dry during the summer (ravines), swell disproportionately. During the summer months, the scarcity of water is still a serious problem.

313 In areas where water is scarce, there is also a scarcity of firewood, owing to the intensive deforestation. As the felling of the trees moves out from the populated centers of Tierradentro, the acquisition of this item becomes increasingly difficult. The fuel problem in Belalcázar, Cuetando, Chitoquez, Valencia, [314] and Guasdualejo is becoming increasingly serious. Furthermore, [439] charcoal is neither used nor produced for trade in Tierradentro.

[312] Providing firewood for feeding the hearth, as well as water, [462] is more an activity for women and children than for men. In most of the parcialidades, firewood abounds, and ordinarily each dwelling has sufficient reserves to maintain the fire on the hearth. In cold parcialidades, such as Calderas and Lame, reviving the fire through the night is essential for protection [513] against the cold. The natives sleep around the hearth, from which comes the warmth that they need for sleeping, since they use no covering other than the clothing on their own bodies and no mattress other than a hard cowhide.

376 The abundance of water also facilitates the construction of 258 hydraulic mills, in order to utilize this motive force. They are relatively numerous.

Property

● 423 The lands of the native communities are protected. That is to say, they belong to the parcialidad. They are inalienable. In addition, they are exempt from taxes. This peculiarity of our legislation has fortunately permitted the preservation of the [311] Paez group and their culture. The lands contained within the parcialidades are uncultivated, usable, /335/ or in use. The uncultivated lands of the communities of Tierradentro are rapidly being colonized.

In each parcialidad there is a specific amount of land that belongs to all the members of the community. It is communal land.

000 /335 cont./

423 land. On it usually stand the native pueblos, and from it the
623 municipal councils have set aside the so-called settlement areas,
648 into which, since they belong to the municipio, "white" penetration has been possible.

423 Private ownership of land is acquired essentially through
425 adjudication, through work, and through inheritance. It may also be acquired through gift or sale, but this is quite rare.

423 Since the true owner of the protected lands is the cabildo,
425 it is this institution that distributes the lands to each member
623 of the community. The titles that it grants are called adjudications. The condition for enjoying possession of a specific parcel is residence in the community and, above all, work. In the case where an individual has idle lands because he cannot manage to work them, the cabildo reserves the right to take this part away from him in order to give it to someone who needs it. Those who through special circumstances live elsewhere, outside of the parcialidad, lose their right to possession of the land.

423 Although it is true that in the distribution of land made by
425 the cabildo it venerates, respects, and is guided by the laws of
623 justice, it is also true that they are not exempt from committing
662 unjust acts. If a member of the community can advantageously entertain and show courtesies to the members of the cabildo and is interested in acquiring more land, he can obtain it in this way. It is relatively easy to suborn the cabildo. Then the cabildo can wrong some in order to benefit others. But this defect may be corrected with the selection of men who can fulfill their functions as members of the cabildo competently and with the exercise of sound directive policies on the part of the municipal executive.

423 Now then. It is also true that some natives have more
623 land than others. But this is due to the fact that their respective
421 ancestors cleared more forest than others. They colonized more land. Their right of ownership is granted through labor. "The ancestors" -- says a Calderun informant -- "worked the montaña and this is why we have land. This land does not belong to the cabildo." This procedure is still followed in the parcialidades where there is still uncultivated land. /336/ The cabildo has

/336 cont./

423 623 428 no rights over land won by the sweat of the brow. It is inherited directly by the sons. In such cases the cabildo confirms ownership by issuing the respective adjudication.

423 578 When the colonization has been done by several persons, usually brothers, and the division of the land does not satisfy one of the parties, famous litigations take place that eat up the small savings of the families. The feeling for ownership of land is highly developed among the natives, and the usurpation of the slightest piece of ground gives rise to quarrels, enmities, and

42 [648] litigations. The sale of land to "whites" is prohibited by Colombian law and by the consuetudinary law of the natives. But among the natives themselves transactions can be made with immovables. They do not sell the land, but the ownership. The owner of land is the man. A widow, too, can be an owner by inheritance from the husband. Single women do not own land.

422 The bovine, equine, porcine, and wool-bearing livestock belong to the man, although a few women own pigs and sheep. Turkeys, chickens, cats, and guinea pigs belong to the women, and so do dishes, spoons, pots, grinding stones,

[428] calabashes, and bags. These are inherited through the female line. Children are owners merely of their own clothes.

423 Concerning communal property, we have already seen that in each parcialidad there are several hectares of land that

[794] belong to all the members of the parcialidad. Also regarded as communal property are public works, such as roads, bridges, the main ditches, the house of the cabildo, and the church, and they collectively maintain them; likewise regarded as the property of the parcialidad are the sums of money collected for the church, the produce of the clearing of the saint, and any livestock or mills that it might own.

428 Concerning inheritance, let us look first at the concepts

[842] expressed by an informant from Calderas. Asked about the ideal number of children for native families, he replied that everyone wished to have many children. "When one dies and one has land, who can handle it? The ancestors worked the montaña, and this is why we have land. We are five brothers and we work

/336 cont./

428 together. The land does not belong to the cabildo. Women do not inherit. Only the men. The women go with their husbands. Among the men it is divided into equal shares. The /337/ sons are the legitimate heirs. If a man dies without leaving sons, [593] his brother inherits. A brother can be asked for a piece of land to [423] work. And he gives it. If we are niggardly about it, what will [425] my brother eat, how will he support his children. The eldest son is important, because if the father dies, it is he who takes charge of the family."

The words are nearly all textual. One may deduce from them that inheritance is carried out through the male line. It is the men who inherit the land, houses, and animals, in equal shares. The women virtually do not inherit, since, when they marry, they go with the husband. The sons are the legitimate heirs. If a man dies without leaving progeny, his brothers inherit.

423 The women, nevertheless, can also be heirs and in equal
428 shares with the men, if the husband has no land to work. Cases
[591] are not frequent, but neither are they rare, when the man goes to live in his wife's home, where he remains and works the land
[563] which belongs to him through his wife's right. Likewise some "whites" who managed to marry natives have the right of usufruct over the lands of their wives, and the latter demand land to work from the cabildo if they do not possess any.

423 Another Calderun informant, one of the major owners of
428 land in extensity wishes to leave it to his sons without dividing it. Since there is enough land, there is no reason for them to quarrel. Since two of his sons went to Cali when they were small, he says that if they should return there is land for them to work.
423 The lands are solely for the men; the women marry and go with the husband. Referring to the llano of Calderas, he says that it belongs to all of the members of the community. They may build their houses there, while those from other parcialidades
[342] have no right to do so. If a member builds a house on the com-
[476] munal llano, all the others are obliged to help him with timber and labor. Even the women. The land is communal because the cabildo has decided upon it. Some have plots on this

/337 cont./

423 communal land, since they have a right to it and anyone can do so. Those who come from elsewhere have a right to the communal land provided that they have grown up there. In Calderas there are people from Lame who own their land because they have cleared the montaña. Nowadays there are no more montañas [591] to clear, and thus persons from elsewhere cannot come in. If a [582] Calderuno marries a woman from another parcialidad, his father-in-law or brothers-in-law must give land /338/ to his wife and the spouse thus enters the community. Thus spoke the informant.

Distribution of implements, stock, and crops

121 We are basing the distribution of implements, stock, and crops on the research carried out in the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, San Andrés, and Calderas.

162 The parcialidad of Mosoco has, approximately, some 250 families with an average of 4 children; Lame, some 130 with an average of 3 children; San Andrés, some 200 with an average of 4 children; and Calderas, some 150 families with 3 children on the average also. In Mosoco we studied 25 families, or 10% of the total; in Lame, 8 or 5.3%; in San Andrés, 15 or 7.5%, and in Calderas 55 or 36.6%. In the first parcialidad listed there is one family of a mestizo and another of a white, which are equivalent to 8% of the total families investigated; in the second, two families of whites are represented, equivalent to 25% of the total families investigated; in the third, 26.6% of the total families investigated are represented by two families of whites and two families of mestizos. No family of "whites" lives in Calderas.

/338 cont./

412 422 [162] Bearing in mind that of the 48 families investigated, 52% are from Mosoco, 16.6% from Lame, and 31.2% from San Andrés, we can make the following deductions: The average /339/ number of machetes owned by each family in the three parcialidades is two. This indicates the universality of this implement.

Implements for working the land are more numerous in Mosoco and Lame than in San Andrés, especially in the former, where shovels almost reach 4 and the small bars 2 per family. This is explained by the fact that in those parcialidades they do not need to clear the lands, but only raise the beds in the pastures.

The number of axes for each family in Mosoco is almost double. [423] [311] The reason for this is that almost all the families own land in the mountainous part called "paramo." The clearing of wooded areas is intensive in Mosoco because they still exist. In San Andrés and Lame, virgin montañas have almost disappeared.

466 /346 cont./
427 needs it (nominal). On the following week he must return to
257 work at the hacienda.
[461] /347/ Each week he produces some 40 arrobas of panela.
[433] The informant boils it down, his wife mills with the deaf and dumb son, and the other son strips the cane. The milling
[422] equipment is expensive and thus belongs to the hacienda. His own tools are two shovels, one small bar, and three machetes, with which he works for the hacienda. The owner of the hacienda has tried to dismiss him three times. Once because he made panela for another owner; it displeases the owner to have him work elsewhere, especially at a mill. The informant did not want to leave his house.

427 The plantings that he has made have sometimes been
241 lost because of the wetness of the soil, leaving no solution but
466 to plant again. The owner does not help at all in such calamities. He has the right to plant as much as he wishes.
[423] Now he owns about 200 coffee trees, but the owner has forbidden him to plant more trees.

427 The informant has seven children, five of whom are females;
465 three of them earn a peso a day working on the hacienda, harvest-
466 ing and weeding coffee. One who is younger earns 50 centavos, and the son pays land rent and earns a daily wage of two pesos. The owner is not honest. To pay the daily wages he usually takes out bills of ten or twenty pesos and sends one of the peons to exchange them for smaller currency, which is always short when it is received. He pays in part and later maintains that the total was met.

Another informant from the same hacienda says that for two years of vaquería (tending cattle) the owner gave him in payment for his labor one mare that is not worth 30 pesos. While doing this work he suffered hunger and worked too hard. Now, aside from having remunerated him very badly, he demands the payment of rent for the two years that he was engaged in this work.

In general terms, the tenant farmers of San Andrés, in exchange for the use of half a hectare of land, one garden, and one house, are obliged: to pay three days of rent per month, providing their own food; to work as day laborers for the hacienda,

/347 cont./

427 earning a small daily wage (the maximum daily wage that they
466 earn is two pesos, but this is exceptional; ordinarily the men
465 earn one peso and the women 80 centavos); not to work on other fincas; to sell the surplus from their crops to the owners of the hacienda themselves, especially if it is coffee; to divide in half or distribute in equal parts with the owner the panela obtained /348/ from the ovens of the hacienda; the wife and children of the tenant farmers are also obliged to work on the hacienda. They have the right to plant any crop except coffee. They earn nothing on Sundays or on religious or national holidays, nor do they receive any remuneration for extra hours of work. They do not get any social services. When the owner is good, he gives them salt and, ordinarily, one "spot" of plantain (a ration of cooked plantains).

427 Many are sons of tenant farmers born on the hacienda itself.
466 Others have suffered in this servitude for more than ten years. Although a few have freed themselves from this situation, most of them resist giving up their rancho and their garden when the owners want to dispossess them. One tenant-farmer informant, when questioned as to whether his situation was good or bad, said: "I have to be satisfied, what else can I do if from childhood I have been here" (on the hacienda). Besides, he figures that if the owner wants to remove him, he will have to pay him
● [423] for the improvements in his garden. Here and there a tenant farmer with more than 20 years of usufruct from his piece of land has already refused to pay his rent.

One tenant farmer who has worked for several owners recalls that some were good, but most of them were bad, ambitious, exploiters, who had their laborers work too hard, cheated in the wages, and one even gave them beatings.

Alimentary diet

262 We wish to note that most of the notes concerning the diet
[121] were gathered in the parcialidad of Calderas.

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631 list presented by a council composed of former governors, the cap-
666 tain, and the síndico. The meeting may object to the list, but gen-
[651] erally accepts it. On the following January 1, the cabildo-elect must appear at the office of the municipal mayor to receive the staffs, their insignia of office, and to assume their duties and responsibilities. The offices are: Governor and alternate, commissioner, two mayors (alcaldes), two constables (alguaciles), and three prosecutors (fiscales), one of whom is a young man assigned to learn the ways of government. The mayors, constables, and prosecutors are something like bosses or policemen, and execute orders issued by the Governor or by the captain or the municipal authorities to a community through the Governor.

423 **Property.**—The Indians today do not own any real property in the
[651] usual sense. The land assigned to an entire community is allotted
[534] to each adult for his use when he becomes a macanero, that is, capable of giving one day's work each year for the collective planting for the benefit of the saint and as many days as may be required by the cabildo for the repair of roads, bridges, etc., or for work in the village. The right to the use of the land may pass to the heirs, wife and children, in the absence of which it reverts to the community or the cabildo.

422 The house was formerly typical personal or movable property,
which could be easily abandoned, dismantled, or destroyed. The same holds today for fragile cane dwellings. There are few houses so solidly built that they constitute real or immovable property.
[764] Other personal property, such as utensils, clothes, weapons, adorn-
[428] ments, and jewels, was formerly buried with the owner. These things
[177] and livestock, planted fields, and crops are now inherited by the members of the deceased's family. In general, Colombian law is
[692] being implanted by the judges and municipal mayors, although the
[623] cabildo judges some minor offenses and punishes the offenders by
[681] whipping, imprisonment, or stocks (cepo), a form of torment retained from Colonial times.

Although the Indians' communities have in most cases titles of
691 limits of their lands dating from Colonial times, there are still liti-
648 gations on boundaries. An interesting case is the struggle of the
[423] Indians to dislodge a settlement of Negroes from the old salt works in Ambostá, where they were abandoned many years ago by a rich Popayán family who took them there to work the mines. The female Indian chief (cacica) of this territory allowed the Negroes to live on a hill, called "the hill of the fifteen Negroes." The Negroes are not organized under a cabildo, but have a chief who represents them. They all contribute to a special religious feast in the municipio, and provide means to continue the suit for the possession of the hill against the Indians.

/182 cont./

13. (cont.)
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In this manner, among the Paez, marriage, family, land, and house form an intimate unit, indissoluble and in part explaining the above-mentioned phenomenon of the reluctance to live grouped in towns or cities.

Basically the residence of the nuclear family is patrilocal-neolocal. When the man, accompanied by his escort, goes to [ask] for his future consort, and, after certain definite formalities are fulfilled, the future parents-in-law hand her over, she is taken to live in the house of his parents (when he has not built his own). In it he arranges a separate room with a kitchen for cooking, a cowhide to sleep on, and space in which to keep their provisions, their kitchen utensils, and work tools. The new spouses are independent of their respective parents. The man assists in the work of his parents-in-law and the woman in the work of hers, but in neither case does it constitute an obligation for them. When a bachelor, the man works to take care of his own needs and to assist in the support of the paternal economy; once married he works to support his family.

The man chooses his wife within the parcialidad, although he may marry women from other parcialidades. But neither men nor women may marry persons from Western culture ("whites"). In Calderas there was a case of a possible marriage between a native woman and a "white." The cabildo removed this possibility, obliging the native woman to marry a member of the parcialidad. If it is a man who wishes to try to marry a "white" woman, he must leave the village. They consider that when the "whites" enter the community, they invariably appropriate their land.

The selection of spouses within the parcialidades is /183/ determined by the laws of incest. Unions between parents and children and real brothers and sisters are incestuous and severely prohibited. Also relations between cousins of the first degree of both lines and those of uncles and nieces are condemned, although not prescribed.